

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 10633

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SUBJECT: MORE ON THE SITUATION IN GEORGIA

REF: MOSCOW 10418 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. FURTHER INSIGHTS INTO THE SITUATION IN GEORGIA ARE PROVIDED BY A GEORGIAN GRADUATE STUDENT IN TBILISI, BY THE SPEECHES AT A LATE JUNE GEORGIAN SUPREME SOVIET SESSION, AND BY AN EDITORIAL IN THE REPUBLIC PAPER "ZARYA VOSTOKA" ON THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECREE REGARDING GEORGIA. OVERALL, SHEVARDNADZE'S POLITICAL FUTURE SEEMS INCREASINGLY DOUBTFUL, AND THE "GEORGIAN-NESS" OF THE REPUBLIC CONTINUES TO GENERATE STUBBORN PROBLEMS FOR MOSCOW. JUDGING FROM THE SPEECHES AT THE SUPREME SOVIET SESSION: --FAMILY AND FRIENDSHIP TIES OFTEN DETERMINE HOW PERSONNEL AND RESOURCES ARE UTILIZED; --THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT CADRES LOYAL TO MOSCOW FACE AN UPHILL BATTLE IN MOTIVATING GEORGIANS TO ADOPT THE PATTERNS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR DESIRED BY THE CPSU; --THE "SOVIET SYSTEM" TENDS TO PETER OUT AS ONE MOVES FROM URBAN TO RURAL AREAS, WHERE LOCAL SOVIETS, AND PRESUMABLY LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AS WELL, ARE FREQUENTLY IGNORED AND LARGELY IMPOTENT. END SUMMARY.

2. A GEORGIAN GRADUATE STUDENT IN TBILISI RECENTLY TOLD A BRITISH EMBOFF THAT THE PARTY ORGANIZATION AT TBILISI UNIVERSITY HAD INFORMALLY PROTESTED NEW REGULATIONS REQUIRING

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ALL THESES TO BE WRITTEN IN RUSSIAN. IN THE MEANWHILE,

PROFESSORS AND TEACHERS REPORTEDLY WERE NOT IMPLEMENTING THE REGULATIONS FULLY. (ON RECENT TRIP TO GEORGIA, CSM MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT WAS TOLD BY ONE GRADUATE STUDENT THAT HER THESIS WOULD BE SUBMITTED IN GEORGIAN ONLY, WITH PROFESSOR'S APPROVAL.) THE STUDENT ALSO SAID THAT SHEVARDNADZE WAS IN A MOST DIFFICULT POSITION. HIS TOUGH LINE HAD NOT WORKED, AND THE NEW CC DECREE PROBABLY WAS INTENDED TO SET THE STAGE FOR HIS OUSTER AS FIRST SECRETARY.

3. INTERESTING DETAILS ABOUT MOSCOW'S GEORGIAN HEADACHE WERE REVEALED IN THE SPEECHES OF THE RECENT GEORGIAN SUPREME SOVIET SESSION, AS PRINTED IN "ZARYA VOSTOKA" JUNE 23-25. IN THE KEYNOTE SPEECH BY CHAIRMAN OF THE SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM G. GILASHVILI, FOR EXAMPLE, THE FOLLOWING PROBLEMS WERE ENUMERATED:

- OF 931 ENTERPRISES AND AMALGAMATIONS IN THE REPUBLIC, 133 (OR 12.3 PER CENT) DID NOT FULFILL THEIR PRODUCTION PLANS FOR THE FIRST FIVE MONTHS OF 1976;
- IN 1975 OVER 42,000 COLLECTIVE FARMERS WORKED 50 DAYS LESS THAN PLANNED, AND 7,700 PERFORMED ABSOLUTELY NO SOCIALLY USEFUL WORK;
- CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION FROM JANUARY THROUGH MAY OF THIS YEAR WAS 84 PER CENT OF PLAN, WITH CONSTRUCTION OF MEDICAL FACILITIES ONLY 61 PER CENT OF PLAN;
- CONSUMER SERVICES ARE IN PARTICULARLY SORRY SHAPE, PARTICULARLY PUBLIC EATING FACILITIES, AND OVER 1,000 RURAL LOCALITIES HAVE NO CONSUMER SERVICES AT ALL;
- THE CRIME RATE IS STILL HIGH, FED BY "PROTECTIONISM," HARMFUL CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS, THEFT OF STATE PROPERTY, ILLEGAL USE OF LAND AND UNAUTHORIZED CONSTRUCTION OF DACHAS.

4. GILASHVILI WAS PARTICULARLY CAUSTIC ABOUT THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF LOCAL SOVIETS, WHICH:

- PASS MANY ILLEGAL RESOLUTIONS (FOR EXAMPLE, 64 PER CENT OF RECENT PERSONNEL DISMISSALS WERE DONE IN IGNORANCE OF THE RELEVANT ALS);
- HAVE NOT COPEDED SUCCESSFULLY WITH CADRE POLICY OR WITH MANAGEMENT OF THEIR OWN FINANCES;
- ARE EITHER IGNORANT OF THEIR POWER TO EXERCISE DISCIPLINE OVER LOCAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, OR ARE PASSIVE IN THE FACE OF THESE

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PROBLEMS.

5. OTHER SPEAKERS NOTED THAT OF THE REPUBLIC'S 978 RURAL SOVIETS, 390 WERE HOUSED IN UNSATISFACTORY BUILDINGS. AND DURING THE NINTH FIVE YEAR PLAN, CITIES AND REGIONS OF GEORGIA WERE ALLOCATED OVER 100 MILLION RUBLES TO SUPPLEMENT THEIR BUDGETS, OF WHICH OVER 50 PER CENT IS STILL UNUSED DUE TO POOR MANAGEMENT.

6. GILASHVILI'S CONCLUDING SPEECH INDICATED WIDESPREAD ABUSE OF POWER AND TOLERANCE OF LAW-BREAKING, EVEN AMONG SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATES. HE SAID, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT:  
--THE TITLE OF DEPUTY SHOULD NOT BE USED AS A VISA FOR OPENING DOORS TO "FIXING" ESSENTIALLY PRIVATE MATTERS;  
--WHILE IT IS NOT, OF COURSE, FORBIDDEN FOR DEPUTIES TO HAVE CLOSE FIRENDS, WE MUST BE DEMANDING OF BOTH FRIENDS AND RELATIVES WHERE PUBLIC INTERESTS ARE CONCERNED, AND WARN CLOSE ONE THAT IF THEY BREAK LAWS AND REGULATIONS WE WILL BE MORE STRICT WITH THEM THAN WITH OTHERS;  
--"THE SAME CAN BE SAID FOR DEPUTIES AND (SUPREME SOVIET) WORKERS OF ALL RANKS."

7. A JUNE 29 "ZARYA VOSTOKA" EDITORIAL ON THE CC DECREE PARAPHRASED FROM THE DECREE THE MAIN TASKS CONFRONTING THE GEORGIAN CP. BUT ITS OVERALL TONE WAS MORE UPBEAT THAN THE DECREE, AND UNLIKE THE DECREE IT SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED THE BUREAU OF THE REPUBLIC CC AND ASCRIBED POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE REPUBLIC TO BASIC IMPROVEMENTS IN THE STYLE AND METHODS OF PARTY LEADERSHIP. BREZHNEV WAS LAUDED BY NAME; SHEVARDNADZE WAS NOT MENTIONED.

8. FINALLY, TWO CURRENT EXAMPLES OF SOVIET HUMOR REGARDING GEORGIA DESERVE MENTION:  
--IF ONE PLANS TO TRAVEL TO GEORGIA, THE "IN" THING TO SAY IS "I'M GOING TO THE FRG"--THE "FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA;"  
--SHEVARDNADZE TELLS HIS BROTHER TO STOP USING THE FAMILY NAME TO AMASS A PERSONAL FORTUNE; THE BROTHER REPLIES THAT SHEVARDNADZE HAD BETTER THINK AGAIN, BECAUSE HE'LL BE OUT OF WORK AND DEPENDENT UPON THAT PERSONAL FORTUNE IN A VERY SHORT TIME.

9. COMMENT: THE MESS IN GEORGIA PRESENTS MOSCOW WITH A PAINFUL DILEMMA: ADOPTION OF A TOUGHER LINE COULD STIMULATE  
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EVEN STRONGER FEELING OF GEORGIAN NATIONALISM AND CORRESPONDINGLY STIFFER RESISTANCE; WHILE A MORE CONCILIATORY APPROACH COULD ENCOURAGE GEORGIAN ACTIVISTS TO PUSH HARDER FOR FURTHER CONCESSIONS. WE HAVE AS YET FEW CLUES ABOUT THE LINE MOSCOW WILL TAKE, ALTHOUGH THE WORDING OF THE CC DECREE, PLUS THE RELATIVELY POSITIVE "ZARYA VOSTOKA" EDITORIAL ON THE DECREE, DO NOT SUGGEST THAT DRACONIAN MEASURES ARE IN THE WORKS.

10. ONE KEY INDICATOR WILL, OF COURSE, BE SHEVARDNADZE'S PERSONAL FATE, AS WELL AS THAT OF OTHER SENIOR REPUBLIC OFFICIALS. JUDGING FROM THE FACT THAT SHEVARDNADZE HAS NOT BEEN MENTIONED IN RECENT ISSUES OF "ZARYA VOSTOKA," HIS FUTURE DOES NOT SEEM BRIGHT.  
STOESSEL

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